[355 cont.]

I 423 425 [31] I [222] 1. The members of the community with the right of disposal may freely use the wasteland within the territory claimed (to clear it, build a village, gather its products, etc.). A general right in the archipelago is thus the gathering right, the right to collect the products of the forest, forest fruits and tuberous plants, timber, rattan, bamboo, the honey and wax of the wild bees, in short, to collect everything that the land covered by the right offers man without any labor on his part except that of seeking and gathering.

This right is not always unlimited; sometimes the community, through its administrative officials, takes upon itself the right to curtail the activities of the individual in this connection for the sake of the community as a whole. On the Ambon Islands the A [425 423] right of disposal is delegated to the respective dati into which the inhabitants of a negorij (with the exception of the "burghers") are divided. The territory covered by the right is called dati-doesoen. When the wild durians in the dati-doesoen are about to ripen, one A [222 784] of the dignitaries, the kapala kéwang, who is in charge of the uncultivated land, puts a prohibition, called sasi, on the durian trees, and no one would dare risk defying it to pick the durians. When the fruit is ripe, all who have the right pick it equally, thus preventing anyone from picking unripe fruit in his eagerness to get as much as possible for himself or harming the trees (1).

1. For the religious background of this prohibition, see p. 233.

The right to hunt and fish within the territory goes along with the gathering right.

I [31] [356] Of much greater importance than the above rights, however, is the clearing right that the members of the community have. This right apparently exists throughout the archipelago, and although it is said that in some places an individual must ask permission of the chief before clearing a piece of land, this is no more than a rule of order, since it is the chief who exercises the

[189 cont.]

A 538 In the bĕhasa tanah, or vernacular, there are two kinds of songs, the kapata and the legu. The kapata are like the Malayan pantuns, but sometimes they consist of only four verses. On occasion they are satires and here is a typical one:

A [539]
Lepa lawai ruwa ya mae tuan eh
Lepa lawai toru ya mae tuan oh
Latua latu patih nea-oh
Ninu areko puna susah manusiao.

A [527 525] This song refers to the hongi expeditions for maintaining the well-known spice monopoly and to exterminate the clove trees. As Valentijn mentioned, it was customary on such expeditions to give the regents arak in order to learn the truth, because if they were drunk, they revealed things that they would otherwise conceal. This little poem satirizes both the regents and the [Dutch East Indies] Company.

A 538 533 I named the legu as in second place among the songs preserved in the bĕhasa tanah. They are a kind of epic, in which a fragment of the old history is given. They are primarily sung at solemn festivities to the accompaniment of gongs [190] and tifa (drums). The present Resident of Ambon, Baron Van Hoëvell, has published some of them with translations and annotations (1).

1. Tijdschrift v. Ind. T. L. en Volkenkunde, Vol. XXVII, pp. 69 ff.

I 538 This will do for the Ambonese. We need not dwell long on the other peoples of the Malay Archipelago. To complete these remarks, they, too, have little poems of four or six verses and traditional stories of religious or historical nature, which as a rule are quite obscure and incomplete (2).

2. See Hardeland, Dajaksche Grammatik, Augh olo balian hapa tiwah.

A [439 cont.]
G
423 through inheritance, as a consequence of the fact that the inheritance is not divided. On the other hand, the dati and duson were family possessions from the beginning, originating through the division of the lands — specifically those covered with sago groves — among the families. These lands, once allotted to the family or dati, inalienably belonged to it and could not be alienated by sale, even to a negari member.

A We have discussed the cultivated lands that are in the
423 possession of certain members of the negari. Besides the cultivated lands, there are also wastelands here that have never been cleared, tanah uwang or inanno. Like the cultivated lands, they are the property of the negari. Each resident may clear a part, whereby it becomes his duson tatanaman, and may collect the natural products and cut wood in the forests on these lands. This may not be done arbitrarily, however. The forests
A are supervised by forest-watchmen, the so-called anak stalong
[624 kewang, at the head of which is the kapala kewang or
222] latukewanno; the latter [440] gives his consent for the exploitation of the forests. The gathering of some fruits, such as the durian or other valuable products, can be done only by the negari residents collectively. Therefore, when these fruits begin to ripen, the so-called sasi is put on the trees by the kapala kewang, that is, the trees are declared inaccessible. This sasi sign consists of a mark on the tree trunk or a coconut leaf that is fastened to the tree. No one would dare to violate the sasi; it is respected with superstitious reverence.

B In the lines above, we have specifically discussed the
631 situation on Ambon; it is quite similar on the other islands of
621 this residency. Therefore, we shall only discuss Buru. Among the Alfoer of Buru the political unit is a territory consisting of a few villages inhabited by a single clan. Both the clan and the territory of this clan are called fenna. The fenna is
B the political unit, thus the owner of all the lands. We shall
11.23 limit ourselves exclusively to the legal status of the sago groves, which here, too, are of primary importance. In the

2: Wilken--656 E-5 (ca.1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Malayo-Polynesians OH
Sumatra OD1
Moluccas OH4
Ceram OH9
Ambon OH4
Buru OH8
Batak OD5

row on it (1).

1. Van Hoëvell, Ambon, p. 251.

This temporary pĕmali also plays a role in land tenure. In the discussion of land tenure we learned of a kind of pĕmali that is found among the inhabitants of Ambon, Ceram, Buru, etc. As one will recall, the forests are the property of the negari and are under the supervision of the forest watchmen, kewang, with the kapala kewang as the head. Forest products cannot be collected without the permission of the kapala kewang, and some precious fruits can be collected only with the approval of all the negari inhabitants. Therefore these trees, until their fruit is ripe, are declared pĕmali, or, as it is called here, sasi. This sasi is greatly respected and is regarded with superstitious fear. The sign of sasi is one or another mark put on the tree or is indicated by a palm leaf tied around the tree. In essence, sasi and pĕmali are thus related.

Chapter 28. Cosmological Phenomena

The last point to be dealt with before concluding this general sketch of the religion is the concepts that the natives have regarding some cosmological phenomena. We shall discuss this for only two natural phenomena, namely, earthquakes and eclipses of the sun and moon. They have ideas about other natural phenomena, but they are of less importance.

Among the Polynesian peoples, the earth is viewed as a flat disk that is carried by one or another animal. Whenever this animal moves for some reason, there is an earthquake.

Among the Malays of Sumatra's west coast there is the following conception: the earth is a flat disk carried by an ox that stands on an egg, which in turn rests on a fish that swims in a stone basin. Eternal darkness prevails under the basin. If the ox shakes its head, there is an earthquake. Among the Batak